

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1684

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1508

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF 19 FEBRUARY

BEGIN SUMMARY. GROUP HEARD NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) REPORT
ON HIS FEB 15 BRIEFING OF NAC. COMMENT ON 19 FEBRUARY
HUNGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT CENTERED ON APPARENT EASTERN THREAT
THAT NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BREAK DOWN IF EUROPEAN STATES DID NOT
COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REDUCE. GROUP AGREED THAT INTENSIFIED EASTERN
MEDIA POLEMICS, PARTICULARLY ON EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS, HAD THUS
FAR HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON GENERALLY BALANCED WESTERN MEDIA
COVERAGE OF VIENNA TALKS. IN REJECTING ITALIAN REP'S (CAGIATI)
SUGGESTION THAT WEST REPLY IN KIND, GROUP AGREED WITH US
REP'S WARNING THAT ALLIED RETORT WOULD INDUCE WESTERN MEDIA

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TO GIVE EXPANDED COVERAGE TO EASTERN CHARGES AND SUGGESTED THAT

INFORMAL COMPLAINT BE MADE AT 20 FEBRUARY MULTILATERAL DINNER. GROUP APPROVED MINOR FORMAT CHANGES TO MEET ITALIAN OBJECTIONS TO INCLUSION OF FLANK SECURITY IN SAME STATEMENT WITH STABILIZING MEASURES. THERE WAS FURTHER DISCUSSION OF INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH EAST. END SUMMARY

1. CHAIRMAN (ITALIAN REP CAGIATI) ASKED IF THERE WERE ANY BILATERALS TO REPORT. THERE BEING NO REPORTS, HE ASKED NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) TO REPORT ON HIS VISIT TO BRUSSELS AS RAPPORTERU FOR AHG. IN ADDITION TO POINTS SUMMARIZED IN USNATO 0849, NETHERLANDS REP NOTED ALSO THAT HE HAD BRIEFED NAC ON BULGARIAN STATEMENT OF 14 FEBRUARY AND ON DINNER MEETING WITH EASTERN REPS OF 13 FEBRUARY. IN RESPONDING TO DE STAERCCKE'S POLITELY EXPRESSED SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUING PRESENT SYSTEM OF JULTILATERAL SESSIONS, QUARLES REPORTED HE HAD SAID THAT SINCE THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOW IN A DIFFICULT PHASE, ALLIES SHOULD NOT AVOID ANY POSSIBILITIES OF CONTACTS WITH THE EAST IN ORDET TO BE ABLE, IN THE EVENT OF A CRISIS, TO SAY THAT THEY HAD NEGLECTED NO OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ANY SUBJECT WITH THE WARSAW PACT. REFERRING TO A REMARK BY THE UK PERM REP (PECK) THAT THERE HAD NOT BEEN MUCH PROGRESS AT THE TALKS, THE NETHERLANDS REP HAD REPLIED THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE BY IMPRESSING ON THE SOVIET SIDE THE ALLIED POSITION.

2. GROUP DECIDED TO DEFER DISCUSSION OF SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR NEXT INFORMAL EAST-WEST SESSION UNTIL NEXT AHG MEETING. CHAIRMAN THEN SIAD THAT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH NOW ESTABLISHED CUSTOM, HE WOULD ASK FOR GROUP'S CONCURRENCE THAT ALLIES BE REPRESENTED AT INFORMAL EAST-WEST DINNER ON 20 FEBRUARY BY US REP, US DEP REP, NETHERLANDS REP AND UK REP, THIS WAS AGREED WITHOUT DISCUSSION.

DISCUSSION OF HUNGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT OF 19 FEBRUARY

3. CHAIRMAN THEN ASKED FOR COMMENTS ON BULGARIAN PLENARY STATMENT OF 14 FEBRUARY AND HUNGARIAN STATEMENT OF 19 FEBRUARY. THERE WERE NO COMMENTS ON THE BULGARIAN STATMENT. ON THE HUNGARIAN STATEMENT, UK REP (ROSE) NOTED THAT THIS WAS FIRST TIME IN AN EASTERN PLENARY STATMENT THAT THERE HAD BEEN A REFERENCE

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TO FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE IN INFORMAL CONTACTS. CHAIRMAN OBSERVED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO TELL WHETHER HUNGARIAN REP REFERRED TO PREVIOUS BILATERAL CONTACTS OR CURRENT MULTILATERAL SESSIONS. FRG REP (BEHREND) CALLED ATTENTION TO STATEMENT IN PARA. 13 OF HUNGARIAN STATEMENT THAT EUROPEAN CONSENT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING TO REDUCE FORCES WAS A "CONDITIO SINE QUA NON OF CONTINUATION OF EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS". HE SAID THAT IT MIGHT BE AN OVER-INTERPRETATION TO SAY THAT THIS

INDICATED A THREAT TO DISCONTINUE THE TALKS, BUT FELT THAT IT MIGHT BE A HINT THAT THE WARSAW PACT MAY HAVE TO TURN TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. FRG REP NOTED SIGNIFICANCE OF INSERTION OF WORD "MULTILATERAL" IN THIS CONTEXT. HE NOTED ALSO FOCUS OF HUNGARIAN STATEMENT ON ALLEGED UNWILLINGNESS OF WESTERN EUROPEANS TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO REDUCTIONS.

4. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) NOTED REFERENCE IN PARA. 14 OF HUNGARIAN STATEMENT TO EASTERN DRAFT PROPOSAL ADDRESSING QUOTE ALL ASPECTS OF THIS ENTANGLED COMPLEX OF PROBLEMS UNQUOTE AND OBSERVED THAT THIS LANGUAGE COULD BE SERVED BACK AT THE OTHER SIDE IN SOME FUTURE ALLIED STATEMENT IN VIEW OF THE GREATER COMPLEXITY OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL COMPARED WITH THE SIMPLICITY OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS.

PRESS POLEMICS

5. U.S. DEP REP NOTED THAT IN PAST TWO WARSAW PACT STATEMENTS, IN PRESS LEAK OF LAST WEEK, IN TWO SOVIET PRESS ITEMS (KOMLEV DISPATCH FROM VIENNA 16 FEBRUARY AND THE 16 FEBRUARY PRAVDA ARTICLE IN MOSCOW) AND IN A CZECH BROADCAST -- COPIES OF WHICH WERE CIRCULATED TO THE GROUP -- THE EAST HAD FOCUSED ON TWO MAIN DIFFERENCES, INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES IN REDUCTION, WITH MORE EMPHASIS ON THE LATTER; THUS THERE IT SHOULD BE NOTED THERE WAS FAIRLY BROAD PRESS CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF EASTERN PRESSURE ON EUROPEANS TO PARTICIPATE. CHAIRMAN ASKED GROUP WHETHER ALLIES SHOULD ACCEPT THESE PRESS POLIMICS NOW AS NORMAL FEATURE, TO PROTEST, OR TO REPLY PUBLICLY IN KIND. FRG REP NOTED THAT EASTERN PRESS COMMENTS WERE MORE POLEMICAL NOW THAN BEFORE CHRISTMAS -- ESPECIALLY THE CZECHS, WHO CALLED THE ALLIED PROPOSALS "PROPAGANDA HUMBUG". HE SUGGESTED THAT AT THE DINNER OF 20 FEBRUARY THE POINT BE MADE WITH THE SOVIETS THAT SUCH PRESS COMMENTS NOT HELPFUL TO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. CHAIRMAN OBSERVED THAT IN PAST SOVIET REP SIMPLY DENIED LEAK AND CLAIMED INGORANCE OF SOURCE AND SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR ALLIS TO INFORM THE PRESS THEMSELVES. OTHERWISE THE PUBLIC WOULD BE READING ONLY SOVIET OUTPUT. US DEP REP COUNTERED THAT EAST WAS ONLY PROPAGANDIZING ITS OWN PUBLIC AND THAT AS YET ONE DID NOT SEE MUCH OF THEIR PROPAGANDA IN WESTERN PRESS. FRG REP NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRAVDA ARTICLE WAS CARRIED BY NOVOSTI, WHICH IS SPECIFICALLY AIMED AT THE FOREIGN PRESS. FRG REP THEN SAID THAT IT WAS NOT INTERNAL PROPAGANDA AND THAT THE EAST WAS TRYING TO GAIN THE ATTENTION OF THE WESTERN PRESS. UK REP REPLIED THAT WHILE HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR GERMAN PRESS, HE READ BRITISH, AMERICAN, AND FRENCH PRESS COMMENT CAREFULLY AND FOUND THAT ALL TOOK A VERY SOUND LINE ON THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS THEREFORE INADVISABLE
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TO CORRECT A SITUATION WHICH DID NOT NEED CORRECTING. HE SAID THAT WHEN UK PRESS HAD TIME TO TURN TO OTHER THINGS HE MIGHT DO SOME BACKGROUNDING ON A STRICTLY UNATTTRIBUTABLE BASIS. HE AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SUBJECT ARTICLES SHOULD BE RAISED AT THE DINNER.

7. US REP AGREED WITH UK REP AND SAID THAT US DELEGATION RECEIVES TWICE WEEKLY SUMMARIES OF US PRESS COMMENT AND FOUND IT QUITE BALANCED FROM ALLIED POINT OF VIEW. HE WARNED THAT IF

ALLIES RESPOND TO EASTERN PRESS POLEMICS WITH STATEMENTS OF THEIR OWN, THEY WOULD RUN RISK OF GIVING SOVIET ARGUMENTS WIDER PUBLICITY IN WESTERN PRESS, SINCE WESTERN NEWSPAPERS WOULD FEEL OBLIGED TO QUOTE THEM FOR SAKE OF COMPARISON WITH ALLIED STATEMENTS.

8. CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT ALLIES HAVE GROUNDS FOR PROTEST TO EAST AND ASKED IF GROUP AGREED. CHAIRMAN COMPLAINED THAT EAST IS EVEN LEAKING ALLIED POINTS TO PRESS WITH THEIR OWN INTERPRETATION, WHICH WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE. CONSENSUS OF GROUP WAS THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE BROACHED WITH SOVIETS AT 20 FEBRUARY DINNER.

PROPOSED STATEMENT ON STABILIZING MEASURES AND FLANK SECURITY

9. CHAIRMAN, SPEKING IN HIS NATIONAL CAPACITY, NOTED THAT QUESTION HAD BEEN LEFT OPEN WHETHER TO INCLUDE FLANK SECURITY AND STABILIZING MEASURES TOGETHER IN SAME ALLIED PRESENTATION. HE STRESSED, AND REITERATED MANY TIMES IN THE COURSE OF THE SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION, THAT THE TWO SUBJECTS WERE NOT RELATED AND SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BE CONTAINED IN THE SAME STATMENT. HE HAD JUST RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT WHICH CONFIRMED HIS PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED VIEW OF THE MATTER. TO COMBINE THE TWO SUBJECTS IN A SINGLE STATEMENT MIGHT GIVE A FALSE IMPRESSION. UP TO NOW THERE HAD BEEN A SINGLE ARGUMENT IN EACH STATEMENT. HE THEREFORE SUGGESTED CONSIDERATION OF THE SUGGESTION OF THE TURKISH REP (TUREL) AND GREEK REP (GOUNTAS) TO PRESENT FLANK SECURITY IN THE PLENARY FOLLOWING THE STABILIZING MEASURES PAPER AND WITH ANOTHER SPEAKER, PERHAPS THE NETHERLANDS REP. TURKISH REP AND GREEK ACTING REP (NEZERITIS) COUNTERED THAT ALTHOUGH SUBJECTS WERE SEPARATE, THEIR DELEGATIONS FELT THAT ISSUE OF FLANK SECURITY WAS ENHANCED BY DISCUSSING IT TOGETHER WITH STABILIZING MEASURES. NORWEGIAN ACTING REP (BRYNTESEN)

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AGREED WITH TURKISH AND GREEK DELEGATIONS AND ADDED THAT THOUGH SUBJECT SEPARATE, IT WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO LINK THEM AS ALREADY SUGGESTED BY FRG DEP REP IN WORKING GROUP. IF NETHERLANDS REP COULD NOT DELIVER STATEMENT, THEN FRG REP COULD DO SO.

10. GREEK ACTING REP SAID THAT GREEK DELEGATION FAVORED STATEMENT ON BOTH SUBJECTS BEING GIVEN BY SAME SPEAKER. AFTER FURTHER PURSUING HIS POINT, CHAIRMAN SAID THAT IN VIEW OF THE CONSENSUS OF THE GROUP TO INCLUDE FLANK POINT IN STATEMENT ON STABILIZING MEASURES E WOULD DEFER HIS CONCURRENCE UNTIL HE SAW THE DRAFT TEXT OF THE STATEMENT, AT WHICH TIME HE HOPED TO BE ABLE TO WITHDRAW HIS RESERVATION.

SCHEDULING OF FURTHER MULTILATERAL EAST-WEST DINNERS

11. UK REP NOTED THAT IT HAD BECOME CUSTOMARY AT THE END OF THE

MULTILATERAL SESSIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS TO AGREE TO THE DATE OF THE NEXT SUCH MEETING, WHICH IN THIS CASE WOULD NORMALLY BE 27 FEBRUARY. HE WAS RAISING THIS SUBJECT BECAUSE THE ALLIES HAD COME TO THE END OF THE CONTENTS OF THEIR TACTICAL PAPER AND WOULD HAVE TO DECIDE ON WHICH DIRECTION TO TAKE FOLLOWING THE 20 FEBRUARY MEETING. THIS COULD WELL REQUIRE CONSULTATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS. HE BELIEVED ONE WEEK WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT TO WORK OUT AND AGREE ON A NEW APPROACH. IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO DROP SESSIONS FOR TWO WEEKS OR MORE UNTIL ALLIES AGREED AN A NEW APPROACH. CHAIRMAN NOTED THAT WEDNESDAY DINNERS HAD BECOME INTITUIONALIZED. BY NOT SETTING A DATE, THE ALIES COULD SHOW THEIR DISPLEASURE OVER THE RUSSIONS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THEIR POINT OF VIEW. ON THE OTHR HAND, IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO GIVE THEM THE IMPRESSION THAT ALLIES WANT TO DROP THE PRESENT SYSTEM. US REP SAID IT WAS PREMATURE TO FORCAST WHERE ALLIES WOULD STAND AT THE CONCLUSION OF 20 FEBRUARY DINNER. GIVEN THE DIFFICULTY ALLIES HAD ENCOUNTERED IN PERSUADING THE RUSSIANS TO AGREE TO THESE DINNERS AND THE EARLIER RELUCTANCE OF THE EAST ON THIS POINT, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO SET A DATE FOR A FUTURE DINNER ON 20 FEBRUARY AND LET THE RUSSIONS BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BREAKING OFF THIS TYPE OF MEETING IF THEY SO WISH. ALLIES COULD NAME A DATE AND COULD ALWAYS REQUEST THAT IT BE POST-PONED, IF NECESSARY. THE MULTILATERAL EAST-WEST DINNERS WERE THE ONLY WAT TO GET A DEALOGUE GOING AND IT WAS IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THIS TENUOUS BRIDGE UNTIL THE ALLIES

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WANT TO BREAK IT OFF.

12. UK REP SAID HE WAS NOT IN FAVOR OF BREAKING OFF INFORMAL SESSIONS BUT MERELY WANTED TO WARN THAT IF IT IS PLANNED FOR 27 FEBRUARY, ALLIE
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